Issue 7 30p

SMILE

NEOISM: DANCE THE MONTY CANTSIN

SMILE

FOR SEX

ADDRESSES

SMILE, c/o Monty Cantsin, Box 4, 136 Kingsland High Street, Hackney, London E8, England.

SMILE, c/o Joki Mail Art, Post Box 2631, D-495 Minden, West Germany.

SMILE, c/o Monty Cantsin, Box 382, Baltimore, Maryland, 21203, USA.

SMILE, c/o Monty Cantsin, 1020 Lajoie Avenue, Outremont, Quebec, H2V 1N4.

SMILE, c/o Vittore Baroni, Via Raffaelli 2, 55042, Forte Dei Marmi, Italy.

SMILE, c/o Monty Cantsin, 1 Holly Bank, Cherry Lane, Lymm, Cheshire, WA13 ONT, England.

NEOIST COMMUNICATION PROJECT, Art Lover, 21208 Sremska Kamenica, Rade Koncara 52, Yugoslavia.

NEOIST DATA CELL, Monty Cantsin, 25 Normand Road, Dysart, Fife, Scotland.

NEOIST STUDY CENTER, Dr Al Ackerman, PO Box 15035, San Antonio, Texas, 78212, USA.

MISSION DIPLOMATIQUE NEOISTE, Bruno Moynie, 102 Rue Des Dames, Paris, France.

NEOISTA KAPCSOLATOK, Gabor Medvigy, 1052 Budapest, Tanacs krt, Hungary.

NEOIST CENTER, Carlo Pittore, PO Box 1131, Peter Stuyvesant Station, NY, NY, 10009, USA.

NEOIST LODGINGS, Kazunobu Yanagi, 1844 Golden Gate Avenue, SF, CA, 94103, USA.

NEOISTISCHER KONTROLLPOSTEN, Monty Cantsin, Box 11839, Amsterdam, Holland.

NEOISME, Monty Cantsin c/o Jacques Massa, 75 Rue De L'ourcq, 75019 Paris, France.

NEOISTIC ENQUIRY UNIT, R. U. Sevol/Cantsin, 25 Rue De Croulebarbe, APT 11, 75013 Paris, France.

LIMES, Erica Smith, 31 Talfourd Avenue, Reading, Berks, England.

CERTAIN GESTURES, Dave Tiffen/Andrea James, 31 Stevens Close, Hampton, Middlesex, TW12 3YR, England.

IMMORTALITY CENTER, Dave Zack, Apartado 121, Tepoztlan, Morelos, Mexico.

SMILE is the name chosen by Monty Cantsin to refer to an international magazine of multiple origins. The name is fixed, the type of magazines using it aren't.

BLOOD, BREAD AND BEAUTY

Like many of my friends I am currently unemployed, however unlike most of them I am not particularly interested in getting a job. Of course I would like more money than the £25 a week that I currently get in supplementary benefit but I hardly consider the boredom of working from nine to five worth the extra money. Many people prefer the boredom of a job to the boredom of not working at all and if this is the way someone feels then they're entitled to a job and a decent wage to go with it. But really there is no need for anyone who doesn't want to work to have to work. There is enough surplus wealth produced for those who do not want to work to be given a reasonable amount of money to live on. Certainly There is enough money available to give the unemployed four times what the presently get.

Of course when I say that I am unemployed this is not really true at all. I consider myself to be a full time artist. I don't get recognition from the State for this and I don't make any money from it either but nevertheless I consider it to be my full time occupation because it is the activity I use to define myself. It gives me a purpose and it is the means by which I justify my existance to other people. This is not to say that it is better than any other job. It is simply what I want to do.

People need a purpose in order to survive. The most basic and probably the most rewarding is the rearing of children. However, any form of work or aim can be used as a substitution for this. Today more and more people are choosing either art or revolution as a substitute for rearing children. The motive underlying both these choices is a desire to transform society. Art initially on a subjective level and revolution on an objective level but ultimately they both aim to transform society at all levels. As the Situationists demonstrated in the 60's it is only when the two meet that they have a genuine chance of success.

Society is to be transformed by the search for and implementation of a new unifying factor. The need for a new unifying factor arises in the artist because of the loneliness he feels and his consequent desire for love, beauty and truth. The revolutionary desires a new unifying factor because he is angered by the lack of love, beauty and truth to be found under the reign of capital. The underlying cause of this anger and loneliness is the alienation arising from the fragmentation of society as capitalism decays.

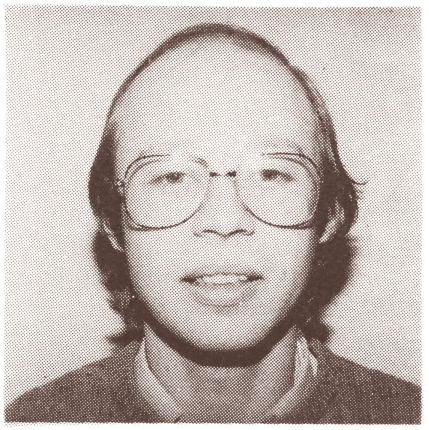
For as long as I can remember I have felt different and seperate from other people. Initially this led me to a form of degenerate individualism in which my alienation from other people led me to consider myself better than them. As I grew up I came to realise that everybody else felt different and seperate too, everyone felt as if they didn't belong. This led me to realise that I belonged with them. And so I began to spend more and more time with my friends and less and less time on my own. Of course it is still necessary to spend a certain amount of time on my own. My creative processes require me to spend time on my own in order to produce my art. I could hardly write this essay while I was holding a conversation. This time spent producing art in isolation is necessary because art gives me an identity within society.

The fragmentation of society has been reflected in the fragmentation of art over the past one hundred years. Modernism and its successors have seized upon this fragmentation in order to realistically portray the world but they have as yet done nothing to cure it. The cure of this fragmentation must be the ultimate aim of all revolutionary projects. Until this cure is found it will become increasingly difficult to be sincere, honest or consistent. The time has come to realise the modernist tradition of revolt and end it in a final revolt against this tradition.

The fragmentation of society has resulted in the dematerialisation of the art object. From this it has become apparent that the only art work still worth creating is one's own life. Turning an individual life into an art work requires playfulness and imagination rather than skill. For example I am sitting in a cafe in Kingston (Surrey) waiting for Beth. We arranged to meet at llam but as I know she is always late it's 11.30am before I'm sitting at a table with a coffee infront of me. At 11.40am someone who I recognise as one of Beth's friends comes in, walks up to me and asks if I am Monty Cantsin. I say "Yes" and handing me a piece of paper he says "This is for you", then walks away. The piece of paper is taped up, so I rip it open and inside is a not that reads: "Monty. Beth regrets to inform you that she won't be able to arrive till approx. 12.30pm. Meet at Pete's pad. (6 Grange Road)." I finish my coffee and for a few moments pretend to be engaged in clandestine activity. The man at the table next to mine gives me a hostile glance

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN



MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

BLOOD, BREAD AND BEAUTY

while the woman opposite me carefully avoids my smile. I put on my raincoat, put the note into my pocket and walk out onto the street where I decide to play at being Antonin Artaud. This requires a state of mind rather than physical mannerisms. Of course I don't turn up at Pete's pad till coming up for 1.30pm and even so I have to wait nearly an hour for Beth to arrive.

Aren't most of the trivial incidents of everyday life like this ridiculous adventure? But in an attenuated and diluted form, reduced to the duration of a step, a glance, a thought, experienced as a muffled impact, a fleeting discomfort barely registered by consciousness and leaving in the mind only a dull irritation at a loss to discover its own origin? The endless minuet of humiliation and its responce gives human relationships an obscene hobbling rhythm. In the ebb and flow of the crowds sucked in and crushed together by the coming and going of suburban trains, and coughed out into streets, offices and factories, there is nothing but timid retreats, brutal attacks, smirking faces and scratches delivered for no apparent reason. Soured by unwanted encounters, wine turns to vinegar in the mouth.

From Lautreamont onwards it's become increasingly difficult to write, not because people don't have anything to say but because Western Society has become so fragmented that it is no longer possible to write in the manner that has traditionally been considered "good" writing. That is writing that is held together by a single idea or body of ideas, where each sentance follows logically from the preceeding one, and where every paragraph and chapter flows smoothly into the next. Today thoughts seem to break before they are fully formed, they turn back on themselves, contradict each other and make it impossible to write in a style that holds together as a unit.

The great problem with twentieth-century art is the constant demand for something new and original. The consequence of which is that everything appears to change and yet nothing really changes at all. All we get is the constant re-appearance of the same half-baked ideas with a succession of increasingly stupid names. It took thousands of years to develop perspective and yet today people demand radical innovations every week. The result is they get exactly what they deserve - insults.

Neoism is opposed to Western Philosophy because it is opposed to the rhetoric of logical arguement. Logic is the road that leads

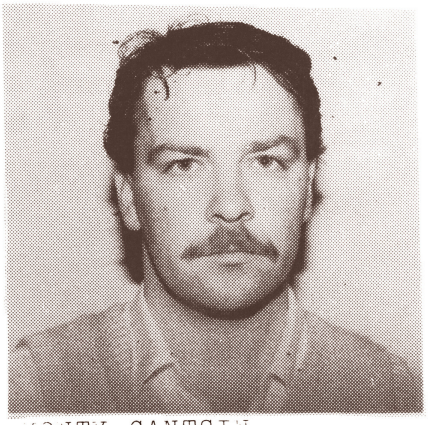
to nowhere, or at the very best madness. Neoism on the other hand has never claimed to lead anywhere, Neoism simply is. It asserts no more than is obvious and nothing is more obvious than Neoism. Neoism is the ultimate form of Western Philosophy because it is not a philosophy at all, it is an illegible note that Tristan Tzara allowed to fall from his breast pocket prior to a performance at the Cabaret Voltaire in 1916. It is no more than a sneeze, or rather hollow laughter. Neoism is undefeatable, self-refuting and incomprehensible.

Every act of superstition confirms and reinforces a belief in something above and beyond man. The whole point of revolution is to smash the fragmentary world of capital, a world of seperation that quite deliberately promotes an ideology of individualism in order to prevent the development of a class consciousness and the inevitably ensueing proletarian uprisings. Because religon is a support, a crutch, a recognition that man can't live fully as an isolated individual, it contains within it the seeds of a mass revolutionary consciousness.

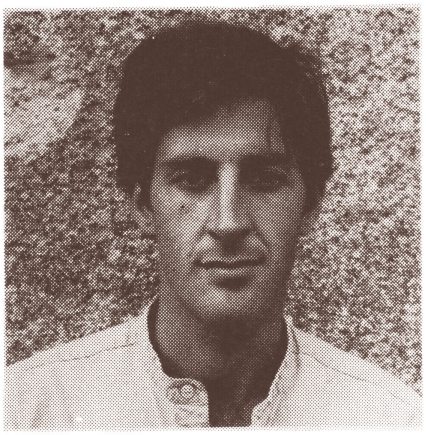
Today the dead weight of history oppresses us with more efficiency than the most reactionary of states could dream of. We stagger and suffocate under the burden of thousands of years of accumulated debris. Debris that stiffles anything but the most aggressive of creative sparks. And today that spark has reached a new peak in its history. Today the urge to smash the venerable museums has reached a point from which it threatens to become more burdensome than any previous history. It is essential that this urge realises itself and smashes history within the next decade before it, itself, becomes a new history.

The only international movement to work consistently towards the death of history since the break up of the Situationist International has been the Neoist Network. Only Neoism carries within it the full revolutionary potential for the realisation of our complete humanity. Since 1979 Neoism has been consistently holding and advancing on the revolutionary gains made by the Situationists and Fluxus. The Neoist are the only group to have brought about the conjunction of nihilism and historical consciousness. The two elements essential for the destruction of the old order, the order of history.

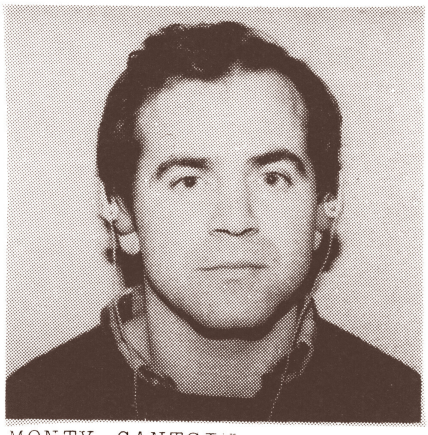
Neoism stands at the end of history, the present, however despite the uncertainty such a position inevitably entails Neoism draws strength from its sense of history.



MONTY CANTSIN



MONTY CANTSIN



MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

BLOOD, BREAD AND BEAUTY

Its sense of the reality of the past and of the importance of Lautreamont, the Situationist and Fluxus. We have studied these people carefully and discovered that there is nothing to be learnt from them. Those who look to the past walk blindly into the future.

Neoism has always been more concerned with the development of certain attitudes than the creation of material art works. One of the most important of these attitude is a desire to be incomprehensible. Out of this desire comes the realisation that Neoism can only be defined by itself. Neoism has always been more concerned with propogating confusion than with serving itself up in consumable chunks. A Neoist is somebody who believes totally in the value of carrying an umbrella on a rainy day. Or rather in stealing someone else's umbrella if it starts to rain. He is someone who as a matter of conviction refuses to work. Who would rather survive on someone else's money than on the fruits of his own labour. Someone who seeks gratification in the present rather than security in the future. Someone who is quite genuinely suprised when his relatives express anger at him turning up at five in the morning and demanding to be lent a considerable sum of money. Someone who, utterly convinced of their own genius, believes that not only are they owed a living but that their very existence entitles them to be kept in the lap of luxury at somebody else's expense. Above all a Neoist is someone who believes that art, rather than being the creation of genius, is merely an exercise in public relations. A dull sham, not even worth debunking in public.

THE FIRST MAN TO COMMIT ADULTERY ON MARS

A pink balloon with the word "HAPPY BIRTHDAY" printed onto it.

Seventy-seven phrases selected at random from a dictionary by a panel of distinguish- academics.

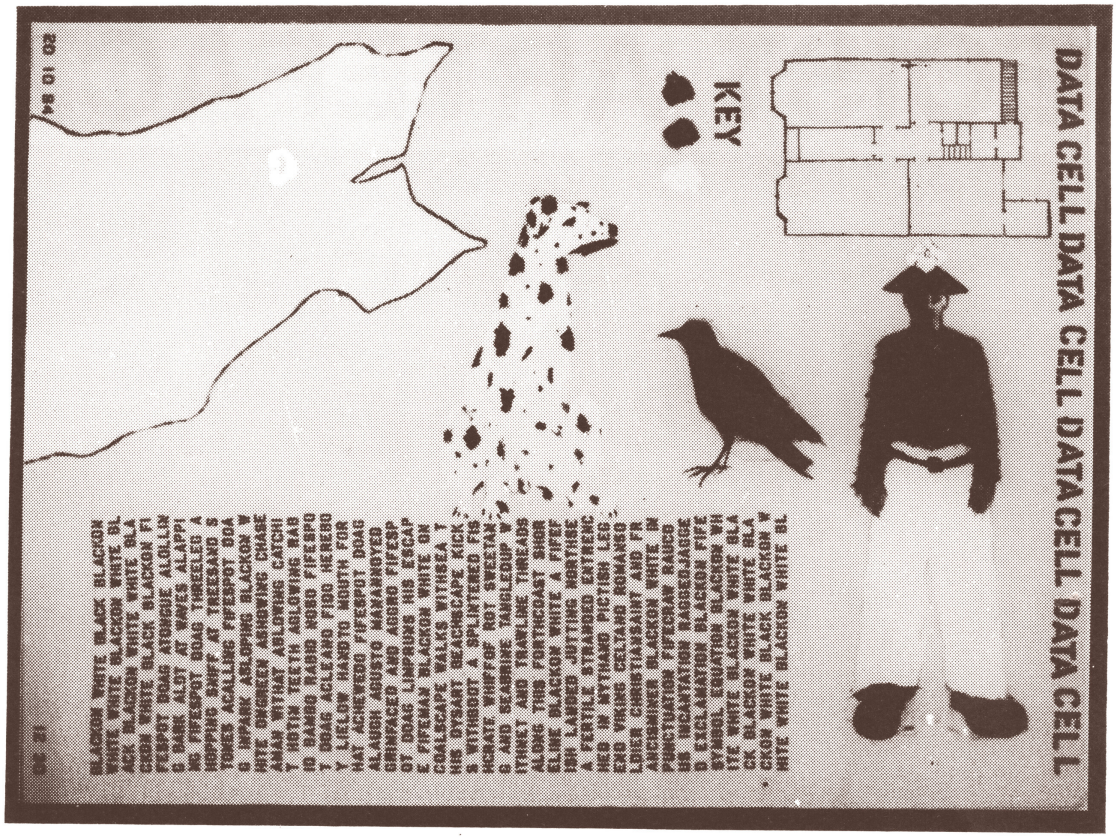
A small round disk made from an unknown metal with a hole drilled through its centre.

In Neoism we refuse to draw a line between when we are joking and when we are serious.

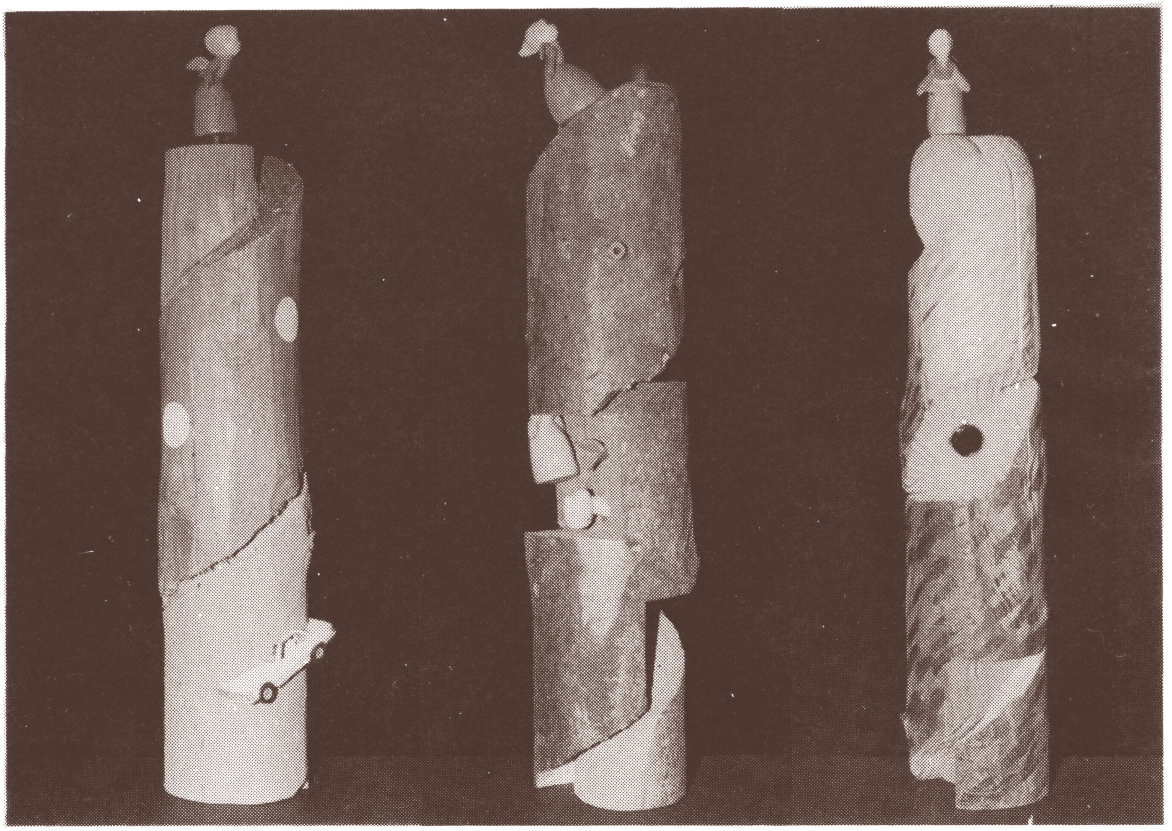
Monty Cantsin came into the gallery with 3 girls, one of whom was wearing silver overalls and a Monty Cantsin look alike mask. When the fire went out Monty and the dancer arose from the chair. The rest is history.

NEOIST ARTEFACTS

Fifeman Collaboration Project ($\frac{1}{4}$ of) 45 A4 pages, Monty Cantsin 1984.



Fifemyth, acrylic on canvas, 70 in X 52in, Monty Cantsin 1984



3 Wooden Sculptures, height 24 inches, Andy Stenhouse, 1985.

NATIONALISM TODAY

In this section we look at the question of 'national liberation' and revolution. We received a number of criticisms of our treatment of the PLO and the armed conflict in Lebanon in our June issue. In discussions, it was pointed out that we failed to take account of the Zionist state, of the existence of any class struggle in the region, and that we took a generally detatched, 'western' attitude to the struggles of Palestinian workers. These criticisms were not unjustified. The first article, which was written in response to ours, defends Palestinian nationalism however. It is followed by our reply. The last article looks at the 'successful' national liberation struggle in Nicaragua.

EYELESS IN GAZA

I detect some ignorance surrounding the situation of the Palestinians, and, wishing to polemicise the stance taken by those comrades who slander their struggle for liberation, this being based apparently, on the grounds that all national liberation struggles are inherently bourgeois or reactionary in nature. While not wishing to wholly deny that this is often the case, or to appear uncritical of the PLO, it should be noted that the Palestinian movement to date has been one of the most international in character, and that it seems a gross if not callous mistake to dismiss as unsocialist the struggle of the whole of the Palestinian masses, and not to credit them with any real revolutionary potential. The basis of any international working class movement must be an understanding of all oppressed people, undertaken with a view to the class character of the facts of their existence. The following is an attempt to provide this, and to illustrate with examples, the conditions that they are forced to operate under, and why as a consequence, their resistance has taken the form of armed struggle.

Palestinian unions first emerged in 1925 and, assisted by Zionist land seizures, grew to a membership of 50,000 by 1946. Action against land seizures was however taken, and in 1936 there was a 6-month general strike against the British mandate and the policy of land acquisition. In this strike the Palestinians claim to have lost a greater percentage of the population than the Vietnamese in the Vietnam war. The majority of workers in this period were nevertheless agricultural workers, and until 1948 and the scattering of the Palestinians, 80% still worked on the land.

The disruption of events after 1948 made organising in trade unions difficult, and it was not until 1965 that they fully reorganised as the Palestinian Trades Union Federation (PTUF). Despite being banned in Israel and Jordan, the PTUF still exists and has 31 syndicates which, alongside other unions and syndicates including womens' organisations constitute 25% of the Palestinian National Council, the supreme representative body. Many of the unions and syndicates are forced to work underground because they belong to the PTUF and Israeli law forbids trade union or political organisations which express national aspirations.

After 1966, Palestinians were allowed to join the Israeli 'trade union', the Histadrut, although under the auspices of the

Proletarian Internationalists on their way to Orgreave

'Arab Department'. Most Palestinian members were in unskilled jobs, some working for the Histadrut, one of Israel's largest employers, involved in, for example, constructing Jewish settlements. The 'Arab' Department has however now closed, and the remaining members exist in limbo. Despite all this, the International Labour Organisation still chooses to recognise the Histadrut as a trade union, as does the TGWU in Britain, who recently, in the wake of the Shattila massacres, played host to some touring Histadrut reps.

With the dispersion of the Palestinian masses in 1948, it was the middle classes who came to constitute the diaspora, the nation in exile, and the situation today tends to remain the same. Work in Israel is mostly unskilled, and there's little skilled work in the 'occupied territories' of the West Bank and Gaza. Skilled workers, therefore, tend to emigrate, and, although being Palestinian, they are politically undesirable, the unskilled shall be doubtlessly more so.

Such workers therefore remain employed in the areas of Israeli economy, such as construction or public services and sanitation, where health and safety standards are deficient or difficult to enforce. For these workers there is little hope of solidarity with Sephardic (Arab or Oriental) Jews who occupy the next rung on the ladder of Israeli society. With the '70s influx of Palestinians to Israel and the collapse of attempts such as the bi-racial Black Panthers, Sephardic Jews began to regard the Palestinians as a threat to their own marginal position and have become one of the biggest supports of the right wing Likud Party. The position now is such that the secretary of the (Israeli) construction workers union last year recommended that workers councils and committees should visit sites to prevent employers exploiting the crisis in the construction sector by dismissing Israeli workers and employing others 'at lower salaries and conditions'. (*Ha Retz*, November 1983). The International Labour Organisation figures show that Palestinians are paid half the wage of an Israeli for the same job.

As men have increasingly become wage slaves, usually working away from their villages, so women have adapted their role in farming or, where no plot exists, they labour in Jewish settlements or work in textiles. Where they are organised in industry, they have fought campaigns for equal pay and rights and sick pay, but there have also been women's demonstrations to protest about the resiting of refugee camps and to express solidarity with striking women prisoners. They have also co-ordinated work on cases of women under town arrest which interestingly enough was done in association with an Israeli non-Zionist women's group.

THE 'OCCUPIED TERRITORIES'

In Israel, Palestinian villages are largely dormitories, in the West Bank and Gaza the situation is worse. Of four million non-diaspora Palestinians, one million exist here in refugee camps. One third of the work force here are migrants to Israel, not legally permitted to remain overnight although some do, to save fares and travelling time. These workers constitute 5% of the Israeli workforce but 25% of those in construction. In order to work like this they must obtain permits. These are granted for one month initially and thereafter for three months although for the majority of such workers employment is on a daily basis through agencies. Other migrant workers, mostly in construction, are illegal 'casuals' not paying tax or national insurance for which no benefits accrue anyway and which only go to fund directly, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Within these occupied territories unions are harrassed on the grounds that they are 'hostile to occupation' and workers here again are denied the alternative of belonging to the Histadrut. Under these conditions, and with unemployment at 80% in sectors such as tailor shops, workers are reluctant to strike against Palestinian employers although this has happened.

Indeed, the position of those not selling their labour is such that even a bourgeois policy of reflation could not alleviate the situation. Local industry is hindered through military laws and discriminating taxes and stores now suffer daily raids by the tax authorities. These restrictions also extend to agriculture and farmers need permits for the size and type of their crops and are prohibited from growing crops that compete with Isaeli produce such as Jaffa oranges which were originally Palestinian produce. Jordan also restricts West Bank exports on a similar basis.

The situation is again exacerbated by the fact that acquisition still occurs and in the West Bank land expropriation and military zones amount to a third of the area. Where settlements then occur crop output is further affected by their drainage or well sinking lowering the water table or simply by water being diverted. The result of existence under these unremitting conditions is that the inhabitants of West Bank and Gaza have become increasingly dependant on the ability of the migrant workers to sell their labour under the tenuous and exacting circumstances of the Israeli labour market.

It seems obvious therefore, that while a homeland and the very means of existence are denied them on the basis of their nationality, the struggle for Palestinians as workers cannot be separated from the political struggle for national liberation. Indeed for as long as they are expelled from their homeland while being prohibited access to other countries or means of existence the prospect of armed struggle will remain, and one which could as easily exist under the banners of of anti-racism and anti-imperialism as that of statism. They should not therefore be denied a homeland, not at least by anyone unwilling to burn their own prestigious little passport or national identity card, and, while remaining critical of staist tendencies we should support their emancipation and attempt to engender a culture of anarchism within the arab world amongst whose history to date it remains little known.

M. Diane

TURNING A BLIND EYE IN GAZA?
Workers Playtime replies ...

NATIONALISM TODAY

In our 'prestigious little passports', it clearly says they are the property of HM Government. It follows that to burn them would be a first irreversible step in the generalised refusal of the identities capitalism forces upon us, and of the power of the capitalist state, etc. etc. etc. But as we cross the line into illegalism, do we become unavoidably committed to armed struggle against the existing capitalist nation states, in the name of those yet unborn generations? (of capitalist nation states.)

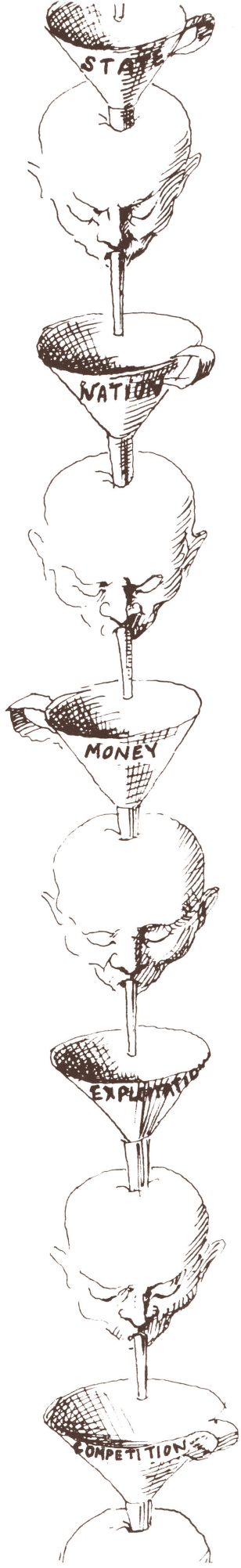
But we should seriously consider the effect mass passport-burning would have on the employment prospects of millions of migrant workers from places like Sicily, Spain, Scotland and Yugoslavia who make up the manual working class in Switzerland, and a large part of it in West Germany. True, without any travel documents these people would be saved the indignities of having their passports imounded by an 'alien' police to stop them skipping the country before the end of their employment contract, being harrassed, exploited and watched, knowing they are propping up an 'alien' economy for the sake of a wage which won't buy anything in the country where it's earned, even if it will support a family or maybe two back home.

But of course, these people aren't stateless. They already have the right to a 'homeland', to democratically self-determine their lives. They won these privileges through their 'supreme representative bodies', of course, and by working in their trade union organisations. Didn't they.

The cause of the Palestinians' vulnerability to exploitation and unemployment isn't their statelessness, but their status as a distinct and visible underclass in Israel and Israeli-occupied territories. Zionism hasn't just disenfranchised Palestinians. It has actually *created* the Palestinian working class, by turning a population of small farmers into a pool of underemployed wage-labour in the space of forty years. The creation of Israel was the creation of a modern capitalist state. It began in the 1930s, when Zionist settlers began systematically buying-out rich Palestinian and Turkish landowners (many of whom lived far enough away not to care less about the erosion of their 'homeland'), and the political transformation of Palestine into the new state of Israel was sanctioned by the United Nations in 1948. Accelerated economic growth meant the expropriation of the Palestinian peasantry, a process which is still going on in the occupied territories. That's what's meant by 'making the desert bloom' : Palestinians were faced with a choice : either they stayed and worked for the new landlord, or they went into exile. This 'progress' was sustained by the unifying force of Zionism, which set the seal on a pact of collaboration between all classes of Israeli citizens. Underwritten by the military and economic sponsorship of the U.S. bloc, Israeli nationalism meant the near-genocide of the Palestinian arab peasantry and the bedouin tribes.

This is the background to the present struggles of Palestinian workers. The point is that Zionism would have remained a popular lost cause to this day, regardless of the suffering of European Jews in the 1930s and '40s, if the 'allied' powers had not found a use for it in its plan for constructing the post-war capitalist world. This plan transformed the sentimental dream of a Jewish homeland into the vicious reality of triumphant Zionism. As the Israeli parliament's first fascist MP said, after his recent election to the Knesset, "I prefer an Israel everyone hates to an Auschwitz the whole world loves." And unless the politicians find a similar use for Palestinian nationalism, the hopes of diaspora Palestinians to return from exile will not be realised, except with the end of capitalism and *all* states.

Despite nationalist rhetoric, the homeland which the



EVIL NATIONALIST VIOLENCE:
The King David Hotel, Jerusalem, bombed by Irgun (Zionist) terrorists on July 22nd., 1946

GOOD NATIONALIST VIOLENCE :
The Grand Hotel, Brighton, bombed by Irish Republican freedom fighters on October 12th., 1984

Palestinians lost can never be reconstructed – any more than modern Israel is a reconstruction of biblical Judea. In any case, it is hard to imagine educated Palestinians, living in the cities of Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, *wanting* to return to some rented small-holding owned by an absentee landlord (even if he was a Palestinian). Israel has obliterated the homelands of the 1930s. In their place it has established new townships, agricultural settlements and militarised zones. The arab villages are still there, but – even in the West Bank – they have rapidly become workers' dormitories, serving the new industrial centres.

So, what 'solutions' does Palestinian nationalism propose ? Either an 'autonomous' mini-territory on the West Bank of the River Jordan ; the re-partition of the former Mandate Territory into separate Jewish and Arab states ; or the abolition of the state of Israel and its replacement by a secular republic. Since the 'integrity' of the present state of Israel is guaranteed by the United States and its western allies, the only 'realistic' prospect is the first one – the one which is currently being sponsored by the 'moderate' arab states, the one which might be acceptable to the pro-Arafat wing of the PLO (and the one which was being diplomatically touted by Geoffrey 'Mogadon' Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, during his recent excursion to the region.) But any West Bank statelet would be economically and militarily dependent on its sponsors, including Israel. Whether it could be sold to the 4 million Palestinians would have to be seen. Of course, there's always an outside chance the next US elections will produce a pro-Palestinian communist government. Or that Syria will single-handedly crush Israel and all her allies, then hand it over to the PLO on a plate ...

Nationalism, in all its more-or-less subtle variations, has only one function ; to divide the working class – to disorganise it, stifle it, to turn workers into cannon-fodder for the endless inter-ruling class struggles taking place around the world. It's the same whether we are talking about the second-division nationalism of the PLO, IRA and ANC (nationalism under the banner of 'liberation', meaning the establishment at some point in the future of a state which as yet exists only in blueprint); the victorious, consolidating, 'progressive' nationalism of the MPLA in Angola or the FNLA in Nicaragua; or the 'reactionary' nationalism of Israel's Likud party or the Loyalists in Ulster. What makes racist ideologies like Zionism and Loyalism so much more obnoxious than Irish Republicanism and Palestinian nationalism is the fact that they defend and strengthen the practice of existing national ruling classes. But the core of all nationalist ideologies is the same, and its function is always the same : to mobilise the working class in defence of the interests of its political masters, whether they are in or out of power. Zionism itself shows how the nationalism of the 'underdog' can become the nationalism of the 'master race' in the blink of an eye.

Leftism embraces nationalist ideology when it appears to coincide with its own ambitions of power. When the losers start to get the upper hand, 'contradictions' may appear. For instance in Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party decided to guarantee the gains of its victory in the civil war by declaring a one-party state and massacring the tribal opposition in the south-west of the country. The British Left, however, continues to support the regime – although over a period of time it has become less fulsome in its adulation of 'Comrade Mugabe', and in private some leftists mutter apologetically about 'growing pains' and 'third world consciousness'. So much for International Socialism.

To us the meaning of Nationalism – the Religion of the Twentieth Century – should be clear, whatever its guise. Nationalism means patriotic death. It means the suffocation of class struggle and the postponement of revolution – the only hope the working class has of putting an end to the misery of capitalism, which colonises all our lives wherever we are. The working class must take back, not just its squalid ghettoes and miserable patches of desert, but the whole world. The working class has no country, no homeland to return to, as long as every territory and every area of its life is carved up into spheres of capitalist interest. Nothing less than world revolution will alter that condition.

If the consequences for the working class of recently successful left-nationalist campaigns is not enough to convinve you that National Liberation ideology, far from being an 'inseparable' part of revolutionary struggle in some parts of the world, has in fact – in each and every instance – proved to be a deadly mystification, then a look at the present role of social-nationalist

WORKING CLASS VIOLENCE :
Scab miner's bungalow, burned out on November 24th., 1984

organisations will probably not be enough to end the argument. But it's worth a try.

Inevitably, the leaders and cadres of these organisations behave as a proto-ruling class the minute they manage to 'liberate' a piece of territory from the 'yoke of the imperialist oppressor'. In the early 1970s, for instance, the IRA's enthusiatic policing of the 'no-go' areas it established in the Bogside and other communities gave some catholics in the six counties of Northern Ireland a taste of full-blooded Republican rule. But over much larger areas, and long after the pockets of IRA hegemony were overrun by British military force, the republican godfathers have maintained themselves as a 'second power'. In the catholic estates, the IRA continues to operate as a paramilitary police force in competition with the RUC, proving itself to be a capable defender of private property and public morals by its summary methods of dealing with wayward youths, vandals and petty criminals. It has alternately orchestrated and suppressed collective demonstrations of resistance, according to the current turn of its own electoral and military strategy. In the economy, it runs and profits from a large number of enterprises, both 'legitimate' and black market. The IRA and loyalist organisations have carved out distinct areas of jurisdiction over employment in many industries : in the Belfast construction trades, the lines are so well-established that the rival paramilitaries regularly arrange mutual guarantees of safe-conduct for workers engaged on sites located in 'enemy territory'.

In the case of the PLO, it is not a case of 'criticising statist tendencies'. The PLO *is* a state without a territory, with an institutional sophistication comparable with any other small state, complete with democratic constitution, parliament, government and (until recently, loyal) opposition, treasury, army and welfare bureaucracy. It taxes Palestinians in friendly arab countries, enforces contributions elsewhere, and generally behaves like any other state in the areas where it holds sway. Its own propaganda boasts as much.

In his endless search for political sponsors, Yasser Arafat – still nominal leader of the PLO – has proved himself a backstabbing politician of international stature, hobnobbing with well-known proletarian leaders around the world, notably the Saudi royal family and King Hussein of Jordan, author of the 1970 Black September massacre of Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, which was then under Jordanian rule. Arafat's opponents in the PLO (in case you prefer them), are financed and armed by another notable upholder of workers' rights, Syria's Hafez al Assad, the Butcher of Hama (in April 1981, 10,000 opponents of the Ba'athist regime were slaughtered in the suppression of widespread revolts.)

Although he begins by promising to make a case for the PLO's armed wing, M. Diane does not mention the subject again until his closing remark that "the prospect of armed struggle will remain" as long as the Palestinians are "denied a homeland". In other words, 'professional' violence can be justified if it has nationalist aims. This implies that more general class resistance is impossible until the creation of a nation state (on racial lines) has opened up the possibility of violent struggle by 'its' working class.

The fact is that even today, by monopolising and institutionalising the fight against the Zionist state, the PLO is actively reinforcing the sense of helplessness felt by Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories. To those living under totalitarian terror, it offers liberation by proxy.

Against any notion of the 'armed party', as the armed wing of the working class, we argue the need to *generalise* violent resistance in terms of who does it and what it is for. The problems are very different, but for the Palestinians as for proletarians everywhere including us, the need is to kick aside the division between 'amateur' rioters on the one hand and 'professional' armed fractions on the other. This is the only way the working class can take back the initiative from the military and political vanguards, whatever radical colours they goosestep under.

Trade unionism bears the same relation to the struggles of Palestinian workers as it does anywhere else, although from M. Diane's account you would think they were the same thing. The Palestinian Trades Union Federation does not pretend to be even formally autonomous from the Palestinian state-in-exile. Its role is the role of all trade unions – to negotiate the rate and terms of exploitation, to discourage militancy where it conflicts with 'broader considerations', to harness class struggle to the pursuit of the national(ist) interest. In the words of the Middle East Research and Action Group,

> *"workers employed on the West Bank have on the whole been reluctant to go on strike over pay and conditions against local Palestinian employers ... whatever trade union activity does exist is seen primarily as a part of the whole struggle ..."*

How can we then say that "the struggle for Palestinians as workers cannot be separated from the struggle for national liberation", and claim at the same time that we are trying to understand the fight of "all oppressed people with a view to the class character of the facts of their existence" ?

Any attemt to relate revolutionary activity in western Europe to the struggles of Palestinian workers will run into what appear to be 'theoretical' problems. In spite of the fact that the PLO seems to monopolise the struggles of Palestinian workers, we cannot accept that this struggle is inseparable from nationalist aspirations. But to say this means we are condemning Palestinians, and denying that Palestinian workers have any "revolutionary potential" is ridiculous. It is like saying that we condemn the miners in Britain for belonging to nationalist and counter-revolutionary organisations like the NUM and the Labour Party.

It's no use pretending that the working class doesn't really have anything to do with nationalism, reformism, the PLO, the Labour Party, or whatever – as if these things were simply imposed on our struggles, and grudgingly gone along with. We are not some breed of happy apes, naturally resistant to all forms of authority, ideology and self-defeating practice.

But that's no excuse for throwing up your hands in dismay and swallowing leftist propaganda wholesale. What's the use of trying to "engender a culture of anarchism in the arab world", if we ourselves forget anarchism's basic insights : that the representatives of the working class are its worst enemies; and that the working class has no homeland, and never will, until the day it overthrows all states and tears down every frontier ?

NICARAGUA has been in the news recently, with the elections (the first in that part of the world for fifty years) and some very unsubtle attempts by the US Government to reap the benefits of an invasion without actually having to carry one out. This was met by some very unsubtle attempts by the Nicaraguan Government to reap the benefits of a threatened invasion without having to suffer one, in the form of a massive patriotic mobilisation.

The following article is from a revolutionary paper called *The Daily Battle* produced in Berkeley, California. It is obviously written for an American audience, so some of the references may be obscure to you ; but they are easily translatable into European terms.

The Daily Battle* can be contacted at : *2000, Center St. No. 1200 Berkeley, Ca. 94704, USA

'Socialism' in Quotation Marks

EVERYONE wants to be a winner. Political people are no different. The official movement in this country seems stuck in the swamps of social democracy, where it has been since the turn of the century. The preachings of Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate of the '30's and '40's, were little different than the ramblings of today's publications such as *In These Times* or *Socialist Review*. As usual, the left looks outside the US for action.

In 1979, just as the two-bar blues of the punk scene began to seem stale — a Revolution! Nicaragua was the place. Augusto Cesar Sandino, a martyred leader, a cross between Davy Crockett and Robin Hood, was a perfect candidate for vicarious hero worship.

From its very inception in the early 1960's the Sandinista National Liberation Front has emphasized multi-class cooperation against the regime, and that the patriotic middle classes would play a central role in any effort to topple Somoza. From the time of *La Prensa* Publisher Pedro Joachim Chammoro's assasination in early 1978 until Somoza's defeat in July 1979 the F.S.L.N. leadership was maneuvering to place itself in a government of 'National Unity' with people like the 'group of twelve', (Los Doce), and other representatives of the 'progressive-liberal' upper middle classes. The final overthrow of Somoza was to a great degree an unorganized and spontaneous revolt in which working class and poor did most of the fighting and dying. But there was no time when the workers and peasants asserted their interests separately from the multi-class struggle against the old dictatorship. The Sandinista regime quickly demonstrated its class nature by inviting leading businessmen Alfonso Robelo and Arturo Cruz into the ruling junta.

At a Managua labor seminar of the State-controlled labor union, the 'Sandinista Worker's Central' (CST), Commander Carlos Nunez declared that it was important to distinguish between those members of the bourgeoisie who are still influenced by imperialism and those who had been victims of the dictatorship because, he said, the latter are individuals the FSLN 'wants to attract and consolidate into the revolution.' [1]

Henry Ruiz, minister of planning, in a speech announcing publication of the 1981 economic plan: 'There are those who understand this national effort. There are patriotic entrepeneurs, who want to produce, who want to help the country...The patriotic entrepeneurs are an active subject who require incentives and who require the collaboration of every one of us.' How mystified this plan must have been if its authors presume that entrepreneurs are 'an active subject' of production and not the exploiters of other people's labor! 'Incentives' is nothing but an excuse for unequal pay.

As with every government in the world, the FSLN regime hasn't been as repressive to its rivals in the business community as it has been to the Nicaraguan workers [2] and peasants. The Sandinista Army has often forcibly evicted peasant squatters who had occupied lands in the wake of Somoza's defeat. The FSLN knew that if the landless peasants took over the lands the campesinos would grow food for themselves instead of growing export crops for the State. The Sandinistas said that the peasants are not informed enough to make responsible decisions about their own lives. Against the actions of the landless peasants the FSLN bureaucrat Tomas Borge spoke for the regime, saying that 'private property would be respected' and, 'the Revolution will act with a strong and firm hand, because it cannot allow counter-revolution in the name of revolution.' [3] One Chinandega peasant commented: 'I don't understand it at all, one minute seizing the land is revolutionary, then they tell you it's counter-revolutionary.' [4] Under the rule of the FSLN the only lands that have been the FSLN the only lands that have been 'expropriated' are the ranches, farms, and factories belonging to Somoza and his cronies, about 30 per cent of the productive resources of the country. Out of this figure, three-fourths have become 'People's Property' i.e. state-owned farms, and ¼ have become 'cooperatives', where several small farmers pool their resources and labor under the production plans of the State. [5]

'The majority of the farms confiscated from the Somocistas were large, modern commercial farms oriented toward export production and worked by a small permanent wage labor force supplemented by a large seasonal labor force...The importance of these farms within the national economy was key in the decision to convert them into state farms to be managed by INRA (Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform) with worker participation (meaning co-determination) rather than to proliferate the commune model of the war period.' [6]

Like leftist regimes all over the world, the Sandinistas' conception of 'socialism' is strictly one of legal jurisdiction based on who 'owns' and/or 'manages' the productive resources rather than on the real relations of people to one another and to the things they produce. What was under Somoza a separate enterprise producing for profit remains a profit oriented enterprise, producing goods and services for the irrationalities of capitalist exchange in local and international markets, not for the free and direct use of the proletarians themselves. This state-capitalist sector of the Nicaraguan economy is referred to as the 'People's Sector' by the Sandinista government and its supporters.

In early 1980, employees went on strike against the construction industry, the largest sugar mill in Nicaragua, and 18 textile mills,

HEY, MODE... IT SAYS HERE THEY WANT PEOPLE TO COME DOWN TO NICARAGUA AND HELP OUT WITH TH' COFFEE HARVEST... THAT'S INTERESTING, HUH!?

OH REALLY? SOUNDS LIKE JUST THE JOB FOR YOU, DOGGO!
YEH... PLANE FARE IS $600.00 ROUND TRIP AND YOU DON'T EVEN NEED A VISA TO GET IN...
...AND WHAT ARE THEY PAYING TO PICK COFFEE BEANS DOWN THERE?

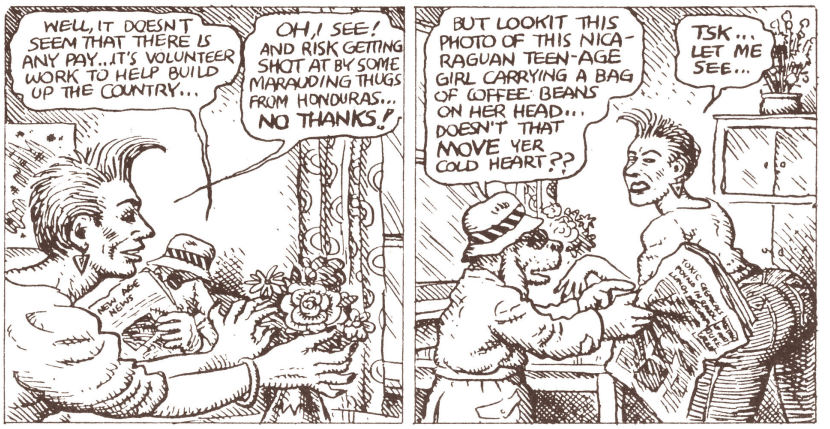
including FABRITEX, the largest textile mill in the country. Many were affiliated with the Confederation for Union Action and Unity, (CAUS), a union associated with the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan 'Communist' Party. The response of the supposedly revolutionary regime was swift and severe. Representatives of CAUS and PCN were imprisoned for several months, dissident leftists were jailed, and the state-run union CST organized a mob to sack the offices of CAUS, accusing it of links to the CIA. Now, almost any criticism of the FSLN is labelled 'CIA inspired.' The wave of strikes was broken.

For a year after their release in May, 1980, a thaw in relations 'occured between the in-power bureaucrats of the FSLN and the out-of-power bureaucrats of CAUS and PCN. But in September, 1981, a series of emergency decrees were issued by the ruling junta including a ban on strikes. One month later, the CAUS issued a statement attacking the ban, and criticizing the leadership for encouraging foregin investment. The Sandinistas responded by arresting 100 members of CAUS and PCN. Twenty seven union members were given one-year jail sentences for distributing a leaflet critical of the junta. On November 1, the regime closed the FABRITEX plant and disassembled the factory, accusing the CAUS union of 'boycotting production,' 'negative activities' and of 'psychologically torturing' the FABRITEX workers. Taking a page out of the strike breaking tactics of private capitalists, the FSLN told the employees of FABRITEX to look for work elsewhere (with unemployment at 15%). The state-controlled press even blamed the worker unrest on 'anarchists'!

vanguardia, ordene! [*Vanguard, Give us Orders!*]

GENERIC leftists like Paul Sweezy claim there is no conflict of interest between the Catholic clergy and the Sandinistas. It seems to be an accurate statement. Two hierarchical political entities, acting to decide what's best for the noble, and hopefully, subservient flock. Inclined to meddle in all aspects of other people's lives, the coalition of priests and commissars express the repressive puritanism by persecuting prostitutes and closing 'immoral' gay bars. Their attempts to end prostitution have resulted only in the persecution of women who work as prostitutes and not in the ending of the material scarcity and sexual repression which are the basis of prostitution. Of course, abortions are banned. [*7*] In this new order, women die in horrible back alley abortions or risk prosecution for procuring abortions.

George Black, a syncophantic supporter of the FSLN reported: 'But the most visible change in Nicaragua in the Revolution's first year is a conscious demilitarisation of women, the result of a military regulation minimising the exposure of women to potential combat situations. The hundreds of armed female combatants on the streets of Managua are a thing of the past, and the move to reassign women to secretarial, guard and political education duties was resented by many women who had given proof of their equal military ability on the battlefields. Many women have left the EPS (the regular army). When the first officer ranks were created in February 1980, the list contained only fifteen women out of a total of 230.' [*8*] Ironically, the state-controlled women's association AMNLAE insists that women should have the right to be drafted into the Army. [*9*]


WELL, IT DOESN'T SEEM THAT THERE IS ANY PAY..IT'S VOLUNTEER WORK TO HELP BUILD UP THE COUNTRY...
OH,I SEE! AND RISK GETTING SHOT AT BY SOME MARAUDING THUGS FROM HONDURAS... NO THANKS!
BUT LOOKIT THIS PHOTO OF THIS NICARAGUAN TEEN-AGE GIRL CARRYING A BAG OF COFFEE BEANS ON HER HEAD... DOESN'T THAT MOVE YER COLD HEART??
TSK... LET ME SEE...

Billboards and posters with jingoistic slogans appear everywhere in Nicaragua, celebrating the virtues of the state and of 'production for the fatherland.' Pro-government literature and films are full of references to the glorious leadership of Daniel Ortega and Tomas Borge and of images of the government's militias goose-stepping amidst cries of 'Patria o muerte' (Fatherland or death). Billboards from the Bank of America announce, 'Tu companero en la reconstruction!) [*9*] The FSLN takes this comradeship seriously. A government pamphlet states:

'The World Bank and the IMF have both noted the new government's sense of prudence and sound thinking in the area of monetary policy. In the period between July '78 and July '79 inflation in Nicaragua reached 80%. By 1980 this figure had been reduced to 35% and in '81 to 24%. Complementing the food subsidies given to the majority of the population with an *austere wage policy* greatly contributed to achieving this stability in prices.' [*10*] (emphasis added) On Radio Sandino denunciations of U.S. imperialism have been followed by commercials for Pepsi Cola.

There are a variety of 'mass organizations' that give the illusion of popular power when they are actually one-way transmission belts from the ruling junta downwards to the masses. The country is covered by a network of Cuban-styled 'Sandinista Defense Committees' (CDS) which act to integrate all citizens into the reconstruction plans of the State and which also serve to spy on anyone suspected of disloyalty to the regime. [*11*] A CDS order distributed in Managua in September '79 instructed, 'You should watch all night over the streetcorners, noting every passing car, its make, color, and number...watch who's passing by and figure out where he's going. Post a lookout over the neighbor coming home late and see if he arrives with packages or friends...When you see a stranger in the neighborhood, watch and follow him to see what he's doing. We must not let even one movement escape our notice, since these people could be counterrevolutionaries.'

Inter-Junta Solidarity?

THE FSLN supported the ultra right regime in Argentina for its 'anti-imperialist' slaughter in the Falklands/Malvinas islands. This nationalistic hoax occured at a time when rising working-class militancy threatened the stability of that regime. The Sandinistas also supported the military suppression of Solidarnosc. Apologists for the FSLN excused this on the grounds that they were receiving most of their aid from the Eastern Bloc. The truth, however, is that over 4/5 of this aid was coming from outside the Eastern bloc. [*12*] A more convinicing explanation might be that the junta was doing the same thing on a smaller scale as Jaruzelski in Poland. In Nicaragua strikes, the basic defensive weapon of the working class, had already been banned, and the so-called ultra left opposition has been crushed.

Frederico Lopez, head of the FSLN propaganda department said: 'Should it be impossible to neutralize anti-Soviet feelings with respect to Poland, we should strive to Neutralize possible analogies between Nicaragua and Poland, above all with respect to strikes.' (From 'A Critical Look at the Sandinistas' by Eric Chester, Changes, May, 1982.)

'If necessary, we will use force to put an end to seizures and strikes, in order to guarantee national production and the development of the reactivation plan.' (Moises Hassan, member of the Sandanista junta, quoted in *Cambio 16*, March 4, 1980.)

'Commandantes live in the wealthier districts of Managua, occupying mansions previously owned by leading Somocistas. They are provided with chauffeur-drive cars, servants and bodyguards. Their government offices are air-conditioned, a most exclusive and important status symbol in tropical Managua. For the people of a poor country, this is a very affluent style of life.' (Eric Chester, *ibid.*)

Commodity production has not been overthrown but instead is regulated and protected by the state. The Sandinistas are attempting to organize society in a military fashion but there are signs of rebellions in different places. Besides illegal strikes, the FSLN's national mobilization for military service has been widely resisted. The Sandinistas' efforts to get unemployed workers and university students to volunteer labor to bring in foreign exchange crops hasn't been very successful either.

We have to look at the reality, not the rhetoric. The Sandinistas, the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador and all the leftist parties, trade unions and armed groups are not communist or anti-capitalist. They only aspire to build a *nationally* based capitalism which is not completely tied to North America capital, but

continued

SHE IS CUTE... I LOVE THE PATTERN ON THAT SHIRT SHE'S GOT TIED AROUND HER WAIST... WISH I HAD THAT...
I THINK SHE'S REALLY BEAUTIFUL.. I WANNA GO DOWN THERE AN' MARRY HER...

perhaps more tied to the social-democratic bankers of Sweden and West Germany. The left-capitalists in Central America also wish to avoid the mistakes made by the Cuban regime's development of an inefficient state capitalism which is totally dependent on the Russian-led East Bloc. One can oppose US intervention in Central America without supporting the leftist nationalists. The current rulers of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are greedy psychopaths and exploiters and they deserve to end up in front of a firing squad. (They'll probably end up in Miami.)

Pragmatism and Empriicism

Pragmatic leftists often defend the Sandinistas by posing the question, 'Well, what else can they do in their situation?' This seemingly innocuous rebuttal, when examined, reveals how totally inadequate most left analyses are — indeed, how capitalist these analyses are. First and foremost one notices the implicit assumption that the Sandinistas are the revolutionary subject, and not the workers and peasants. The argument that the Sandinistas 'represent' the interests of the workers and peasants fails completely, given their ban on strikes and expropriations, and protection of private capital. It also ignores the historical record of comparable revolutions (China, Cuba, Grenada, etc.), and avoids the crucial issue of power relations between classes, within 'mass organizations,' and among nation-states.

Behind this lies state worship — the complete acceptance of the nation-state system, of 'legitimate national interest,' of the mythical power to transform society attributed to the state. This amounts to a de facto acceptance of world capitalism, the division of the world's economy into national capitals.

The vulgar leftist empiricist says, 'You can't know, you haven't been there. I have.' But did the Bolshevik coup d'etat make a sound in the historical forest if you weren't there to hear it? This position is reduced to simple skepticism if applied consistently. It would not be possible to have knowledge of historical movements like nationalism, Leninism and State Capitalism, whose beginnings predate most of our births.

A National Socialism?

National Liberation movements are capitalist multi-class coalitions. Proletarians of the Third World do the fighting, dying and working so that small elites of Western (or Russian) educated intellectuals and military officers can take power and force-develop capitalist production. Living standards may improve. Health, nutrition and literacy campaigns fulfill a role in developing market production for productions sake. A healthy, well nourished wage slave can work longer and more efficiently. A literate worker can read technical manuals — and pro government newspapers. The new capitalist states establish a totalitarian surveillance of the workers, using mass systematic repression to stifle dissent and prevent the dispossessed from fightng back. And when all your poverty and victimization are presented in the guise of 'socialism', a false faith in the virtues of 'democratic' capitalist tyrannies is reinforced among oppressed classes everywhere. A threat perhaps ultimately more dangerous than the contras.

The Butchering dictatorships and extreme poverty that pervades the third world cannot be remedied in any one country — they are the direct product of the capitalist economy, the system of commodity production, market exchange, wage labor and profit which exists in every nation in the world. Even the most directly democratic and communistic revolt would fail if it based itself within the capitalist division of national boundaries, because it would be unable to attack the basis of oppression, the world-wide market system, as it must be attacked on a globally-coordinated basis. The utter inhumanity of the totalitarian capitalist regimes in Cuba, China and elsewhere, are plain for all to see.

A Real Revolution Is Still Possible

In response to falling living standards and tyrannical regimes, war or the threat of war, working people have shown a great capacity to link up with one another, to reject condescending saviors, and fight aggressively on a class-wide basis. In the most far-going insurrections of the 20th century, workers have gone beyond the parties and unions of the old society, and, again and again, formed organizations like the original soviets in the Russian Revolution. Workers' councils and direct assemblies unite proletarians in workplaces and communities, like those of the miners in Bolivia, and the 'cordones industriales' of the chilean workers in the early 1970's. From Germany in 1918 to Iran in 1979 there have been many cases of powerful and seemingly well-organized State armies collapsing from within by fraternization between soldiers and civilians, by armed mutinies, and from external opposition by armed militias of the revolutionary workers. This kind of revolutionary perspective hasn't developed yet in Central America, and all of the rightists and leftists stand in the way of it.

What has to emerge is a massive and determined movement for libertarian communism. Not just in the poor regions of Central America, but also in the nations of Latin America with large and combative working classes such as Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, and in the major capitalist nations as well. We must end the domination of people by the exchange of things, do away with the basis of all wars and poverty, and begin a new era of liberty and community for the entire human race.

'It is one of the peculiarities of revolutions that just as the people seem about to take a great step and to open up a new era, they suffer themselves to be ruled by the delusions of the past and surrender all the power and influence they have so dearly won into the hands of men who represent, or are supposed to represent, the popular movement of a by-gone era.' Karl Marx, *Collected Works*, 13, p. 340

Notes

1. Carlos Nunex, in Barricada, *pp. 1 and 10, Sept.* 25, 1979, *quoted from* Nicaragua: A Peoples' Revolution, *EPICA Task Force.*

2. *See George Black,* Triumph of the People, *Zed Press, London, p. 338. The group Frente Obrero, which holds the Albanian-support franchise, was put of of business by the state. The paper,* El Pueblo, *supported an ultra left group in Leon, the* Movement Popular Revolucionario. *This group had denounced the literacy crusade and the work-creating programs as 'reformist exercises aimed at pacification,' and criticized the 'voluntary work weekends' as a 'means of enriching the capitalist state.' The final edition criticized 'Plan 80' for giving great opportunities to the bourgeoisie and businessmen and few benefits to the exploited masses.' According to Black, 'this was intolerable provocation.' The paper was closed by the army, its press seized and eight editors arrested. They were charged with violating the law for 'The maintenance of Order and Public Safety,' specifically for 'the written publication of proclamations or manifestos designed to harm popular interests.'*

3. Barricada, *Sept. 24, 1979, quoted from* Nicaragua: A People's Revolution.

4. *Black,* Triumph of the People, *p.* 234.

5. *'The View from Nicaragua,'* Unity, *(A pro-China Stalinist paper) May 11, 1984.*

6. *'The worker-peasant alliance in the first year of the Nicaraguan Agrarian reform,' Carmen Diane Deere and Peter Marchetti, SJ,* Latin American Perspectives, *No. 29, Spring* 1981, *pp.* 52, 53.

7. *'Passionate Politics In Nicaragua' by Loie Hayes,* Gay Community News, *Boston, April* 28, 1984.

8. *Black, ibid, p.* 327.

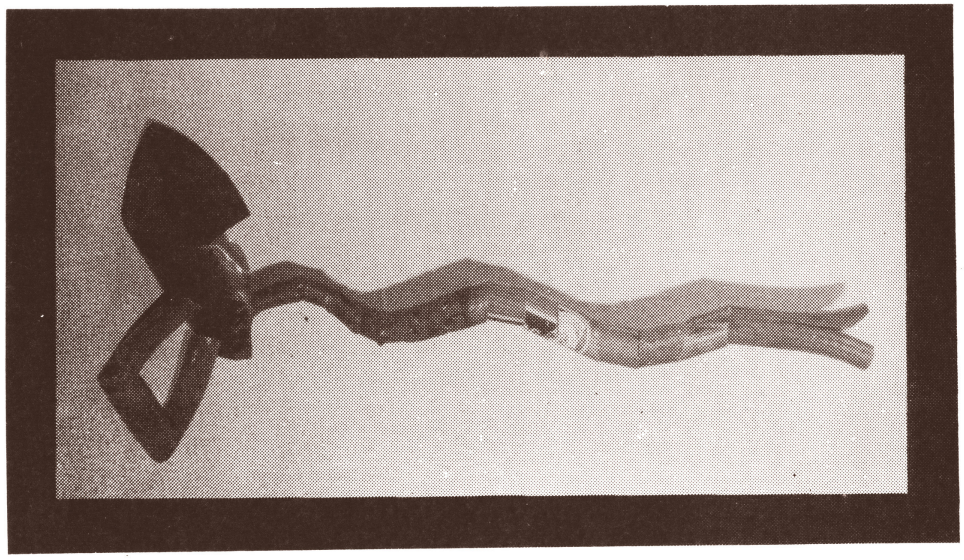
9. *Hayes, 'Passionate Politics,' ibid.*

10. *From: the Junta for National Reconstruction, pamphlet, quoted in the* Nicaragua Reader, *Peter Rossett and John Vandermeer, eds., p.* 259.

11. *Quoted from the Spanish newspaper* Cambio 16.

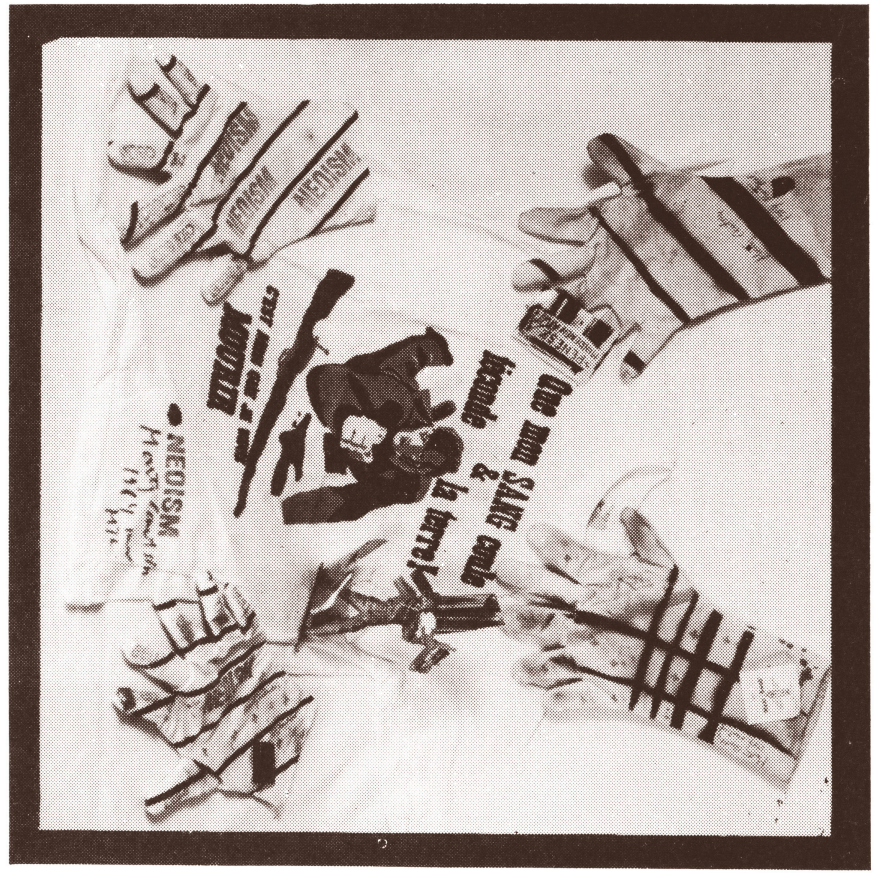
12. International Fund for Reconstruction, *from* Nicaragua Reader, *p.* 261.

(Lest anyone misinterpret this article, its author and the rest of *The Daily Battle* collective are unconditionally opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America in any form).



Spade, Cantsin, Cantsin and Cantsin, 1984.

Fifeman, Monty Cantsin 1984.



Articles by Monty Cantsin 1984/5

CORRESPONDENCE SCRIPT

15/4/84 Woking, Surrey, England.
Dear Neoist Persons
I am a young person whose interest was very much captured by the photo and short piece about APT 8 in the latest issue of Performance Magazine. Could you please zap me back some info in the SAE I've enclosed.
AS ABOVE
SO BELOW
Stewart Home

17/4/84 13 Aulton Place, London, England.
Stewart Home
We Neoists are deeply involved with vegetables and chapatis. The only concrete Data on APT 8 is enclosed. I suggest you come here at 20.00 this Saturday evening for a live exchange. You can meet us and discuss your future participation.
Cantsin and Cantsin.

16/5/84 Immortality Center, Mexico.
Hmm, Stewart Home - Cantsin, friends call you Monty. I have lots of material on Monty Cantsin since I made up the name and sent it on a post card to Kantor. I'm doing hmm, this filing project where I put all my correspondence material in these correspondence novels. So now Kantor is in Pete Horobin's Cell system. An emerging novel. So I'll put you in with Rod Summers RAF VEC and you can be Monty Cantsin in that book if you want.
David "Oz" Zack.

11/6/84 Winnipeg, Canada.
Dearest friend I arrived here yesterday, it's a Neoist city with the red river and the golden boy atop the dome of the Manitoba legislative building. Your Immortal friend Cantsin.

15/6/84 Regina.
Dearest friend, Dave Zack was living in this prarie city for ten years. He came to Budapest from Regina in 1976. Indians here are fat and alcholists. I drew some blood for them last night. United Cells of Neoism.
Cantsin.

18/ 6/84 Calgary
Dearest conspirator, I am getting closer to the Athabasca glacier and ready for the meeting with the Great Mr Pighead. Your Immortal friend Cantsin.

22/6/84 Calgary
Dearest friend, I met the great Mr Pighead on the Athabasca glacier. He drew my blood and he turned into gold. I took his gold bust. It looks like me. My mission is accomplished. Your Immortal friend Cantsin/ Istvan.

23/6/84 Immortality Center, Mexico.
Hmm, Peter below, I am Monty Cantsin. I have to tell you there is no problem, more like a project. OK. Who can say what the whole thing is.
David "Oz" Zack.

7/7/84 Neoist Embassy, Montreal, Canada.
Dear pete, yes it was long but I did it, met the Great Mr Pighead. Now I get ready for new adventures. Bread expedition, ah? And what about bread ballet? Your Immortal friend Cantsin.

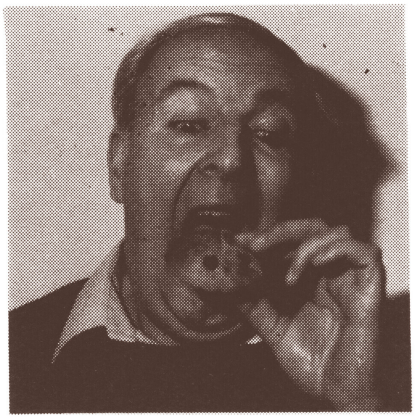
26/7/84 Data Cell, Dysart, Fife, Scotland.
Stewart, Pram goes on the road Saturday 28/7/84. Please deliver the enclosed envelope to Yantoh the Mystery Dog. Travel broadens the myth. See you in Lusden. Pete.

August 84 Crater Bal Tim Ore, USA.
Dear Pete Cell, thanks for cell stamp. Info my depression deepens, much thought of suicide, no money, my correspondence declines. More later if I live.
tentatively a convenience.

6/8/84 Berlin, West Germany.
Dear Mr Kantor. Monty Cantsin. Smiling Lord Home. X Y etc. I'm Volker Hamann. I have a fine correspondence with David Zack since awhile (but short in relation to my use of mail art since five years). I saw your names mentioned on his papers sent to me occasionally and I already knew the outside of the Monty Cantsin image since awhile from Peter Below publication too I heard of Neoist sometimes. So let me say that if it is possible I want to speak with the author of the images - Kantor, if I get it all together in the right way. And in the sense that I would like to your use personal name. Your surname that I don't know. I hope there is nothing hurting personally in my reflection for you. Maybe it's your concept to work with this.
Volka Hamann.

9/8/84 Neoist Embassy, Montreal, Canada.
Dear Home/Cantsin, I'm the black light in the pure white colours, and my blood keeps flowing, flowing. It was nice to see you and talk about revolution. I want to die in the tv. Your Immortal friend Cantsin.

6/9/84 Neoist Embassy, Montreal, Canada.
Dear Cantsin every five minutes we need a new solution, we are alive and do our best for total freedom. Get ready for the next six years. Oh yes in blue endless skies a flaming iron flies. The record is out very soon. Mass Media. Every five minutes we need a new robot and more more more. More



MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

Monty Cantsin and Six Finger Club and more Smile. More more more. Every five minutes we must eat a brain. Your Immortal friend Stewart.

September 84 San Antonio, Texas.
Dear Stewart or Monty if you prefer. Monty (or maybe he's calling himself Stewart Now?0) I remember once in Portland Oregon he went around for several days calling himself Lionel and going toot toot but this turned out to be the botulism he'd contracted from Zack's clams casino suprise which suprised all of us who'd eaten it. I myself went around for several days thinking my hair had turned white overnight when in reality it had all fallen out. Ackerman.

9/11/84 11040 Beograd, Moraca 6, Yugoslavia.
Dear Stewart Home or Monty Cantsin or monty Home or Stewart Cantsin. OK, who are you, or are you who? If you're Monty Cantsin you must remind our meeting at Art Lovers hom, later at my home. We did an performance video show at my home (Blood Is Gold). Next days I'll organised big mixed media programme and exhibition called "World's Artists Family" at the big BeogradCultural Centre Gallery. Best Wishes Dobrica Kamperelic.

20/11/84 125 S. Garden Way, Eugene, Oregon, USA.
Dear Monty or Stewart Home. Are you the same Monty Cantsin who came here to Eugene in 1979 and painted yer mustash red with poster paint and came to the big party we held and the FOAMLORDS, then a flegling failure played? I don't think you are actually. I think that you're Stewart Home feeling a bit Monty Cantsin. Don't laugh I know! I got pretty much to be Monty Cantsin fer quite awhile there myself. Anyway he was an OK kinda guy so I figure any Monty Cantsin is OK by me. The Monty Cantsin fellow was from Czechoslovakia or somewhere and watched me have sex with my girlfriend on the floor. Fortunately it was my girlfriend and my floor. Billy Haddock.

24/11/84 Crater Baltimore, Maryland, USA.
Pete, the concept of Monty Cantsin. Monty Cantsin is a name choosen/invented by Monty Cantsin to refer to an international star who can be anyone. The name is fixed, the people using it aren't.
Monty Cantsin

MALAISE, HISTORY MEMORY

the old man in number 34
was passing his days quietly
between silence and sleep

STEWART HOME

Home's art is arresting because the city police are after him for pandering and plagiarism, which are not quite the same even in our philosophy. Home also got into trouble recently for calling Mrs Thatcher "effeminate". Luckily he was able to clear himself by claiming he thought "effeminate" meant "spirited and hamsterlike". Home's chief difficulty with the authorities, incidently, is that he keeps urging them to call him "Sherlock" - a touchy proposition at best, particularly as he communicates with them entirely by anonymous breather calls and always tries to keep the phrase "Help me, Rhonda, help help me Rhonda!" from creeping too often into his phone messages but can't.

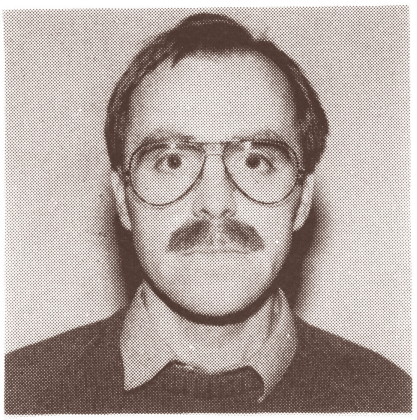
No doubt the extremism of Home's work, the stress on form and repetition, stems in part from having to slip his writings out through a small hole in the side of the dressmaker's dummy where he has lived for most of his life, ever since his mother imprisoned him there as an infant rather than face the shame of admitting to her family pastor that she had given birth out of wedlock and was not really Caesar Romero.

For Home to act, to create, to satisfy desire is paramount, despite moral uncertainty, impetigo, and the difficulty he has moving his arms around inside this dummy.

It is surely more socially valueable for artists to manifest contradictions in their work than to run around sticking up liquor stores in the company of a possum named Abner. This is doubly true for artists named Lum.

Home's attitued towards tradition is not respectful but isosceles, bounded on one side by a small weedy lot and on the other two sides by the stilts he must use to see in the window of the massage parlor, a rahter unsatisfactory proposition. After all, one cannot stand on stilts and call to the girls inside, "Come! Come feel my love muscle" and expect them to be overly thrilled. Unless of course the girls are doped. Even then though, the unsightliness of being locked inside the body of a dressmakers dummy is liable to chill out your play. Existential unpopularity.

Home's work is terrible in all senses of the word but especially in the sense of wearing a plum coloured smoking jacket with green frog fasteners over a pair of sequined orthopedic hose while taking a loud sitz bath in a room where others are trying to finish supper.



MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

MONTY CANTSIN

Home's critics have discussed emotions but to read his work as the expressions of the artists emotions would be wrong, whatever that sentance means. But when a critic pointed out that Home's philosophy was similar to Uncle Wiggly, Home replied angrily "What do you mean ' that thing between your legs is no bigger than a filbert?" which confused everybody until they snapped to the fact that Home was being used by an unscrupulous ventriloquist hiding in the next room. Before they could stop him the ventriloquist had caused everybody at the party to make embarassing bub-bub noises with their lips and fingers, until a strolling mummer named Monty Cantsin arrived on the scene with a roll of tape. New tape. Now everybody's lips are sealed and they have to eat their fruit cocktail through a four inch nassal catheter named Frenchy. When you go to a party like that you sometimes wonder if it was worth it.

However don't restrict yourself to using the name Monty Cantsin, use the name Marge too. Marge is the name of the dressmakers dummy I inhabit. Believe me it's no picnic inhabiting the body of a dummy. You have to listen to a lot of dull gab about dress sizes and what so and so wore to the church jumble sale, which after a few hours, along five o clock say, can get to be the very yawning abyss of asininity itself. People tend to jump when you try to speak to them through the hole in the dummy's side, although some will then whisper "Clarence? Is that you, Clarence?" imagining that you are the voice of their dead husband. Also the effect of eating bean-skillet and fried cabbage all week is staggering in such confined quarters.

It is simplistic to dismiss Home's habit of speaking to himself in both the first and third person as a mere neo-conservative, communist, fascist, anarchist exercise in style. It is too ambiguous for that. It probably has more to do with spending 20 years sewn up inside this goddamn dummy, which keeps me sweating like a horse.

Ultimately our philosophy is a revolutionary problem which is undertaken with a view to plagiarising everything, even our own work.

Ultimately our philosophy is a revolutionary problem which is undertaken with a wiew to plagiarising everything, even our own work. See how it works? First I plagiarised the philosopher Fatty Arbuckle and then I plagiarised my own plagiarism. There is a definate sense of ontological right onness which cannot be explained except to sayit is somehow more enchanting than molesting a frog or falling on a rusty

STEWART HOME

trowel. I do not care what I am talking about and if you weren't such a sexual freak you'd split and not insist on hanging around behind the drapes while I talk to this grapefruit.

Do not imagine you have the least idea of what I am telling this grapefruit and above all don't let the candle light and wine or my smooth sounding lines fool you into thinking my intentions are more than fickle lusts fleeting tennis shoes, or the clothes on the line, or that this is a poem, Harry Lime. It is an experiment to determine what happens when I try to enter the Boston Marathon next summer enveloped in the body of this dummy Marge. I'll have to make my peep hole in Marge's side bigger to offset the disadvantage of my cumbersome stride, is my guess. For some reason I also want to own a Porsche, nobody knows why.

Neoism superseeds all previous philosophies by it's abiltiy to entertain itself for hours on end with nothing more than a loaf of bread, a jug of wine, flaming foods, and a vibrator.

Home's work does generate a sense of trickery and Freud but this stems from the way he has to push his writings through the hole in Marges side to an accomplice waiting outside. This accomplice, a sweet but googy neighbour lad named Chuckles Cagle, carries it all faithfully to the printers, but unbeknownst to Home, Chuckles is also in the habit of taking any sentance beginning with the work "Neoism" and substituting in its place low budget, sensation ridden speeches that he cuts out of his collection of Mighty Hulk comic books. Thus the sentance "Neoism does not mean anything" becomes in Chuckles' hands "Neoism felt a tell tale tingle in its torso! The teratoid metamorphosis from pencil necked David Banner to the massive crazed figure of the Hulk had began! Next moment Neoism burst the confines of its shirt and turned the bright dappled grey-green colour normally associated with pond scum only more squat and leathery. Like punk, Neoism achieved a genuinely unique vision by focusing only on the colour gold and any breast larger than 47D, and then its eyes tensely busy darting around the penny archade to see if any enemy agents were near, it laughed and relaxed against the wall, crashing on through on account of its weight problem, and falling into the alley outside where a family of rats were dining on melon rinds like Auden before them. Riches! Fame! Glamour! Our philosophy is to be tested on the streets and in the dives and lounges and involves suddenly wrapping your legs around the waist of the person you're shaking hands with and making them support all your weight until the police arrive.

NEOIST POETRY

SAN ANTONIO

going into the bathroom i noticed
a man threatening me with a rake

THEMES

History

Tradition

Individuality

Society

Rhetoric

Truth

Cosmic - Urban - Eternity

HOMMAGE TO GEORGE MACIUNAS

Six things to do with a pink balloon:

1) Inflate it.

2) Let the air out of it.

3) Inflate it again.

4) Tie it up at the end so that the
air can't escape.

5) Play volley ball with it.

6) Puncture it with a pin.

MAY 68

When my father died my mother told
me by saying:
"Jesus must have wanted daddy."
I said:
"Oh he's dead."
And then asked:
"What are we going to do for money?"

ECSTACY EVERYWHERE FOOD REFRESHED

I have recurring bouts of ecstacy
I see smiling faces everywhere
I eat well and enjoy my food
I sleep well and awake refreshed

SPRING

the paving stones
lie heavy as rock
beneath my dancing feet

TRUE LIFE CONFESSIONS OF SB

i prefer the idea of being a poet
to writing poetry

BEYOND THE WALL OF SLEEP

Those familiar hands
Vast and silent
Against a darkening sky

REPEAT TWENTY TIMES DAILY

I'm feeling happy
I'm feeling good
I'm feeling how healthy people
should

NEOIST NOVEL

one morning i woke up and decided
i didn't like living anymore so
I killed myself

NEWSCAST

Tomorrow
The chancellor will celebrate
Public spending

COMPLAINT

i do not consider being able to
sit in the bath and peel dead
skin from the soles of my feet
suitable compensation for the
water being cold

NATURAL EVENT

cycle across the moon

LOVE POEM

i think of you every time i
scald myself with boiling water

ART IS SANCTIONED PORNOGRAPHY

MONTY CANTSIN

(1962-2962)

INVENTOR OF THE WHEEL

Bonfire Press — We Publish it, You Burn it...